



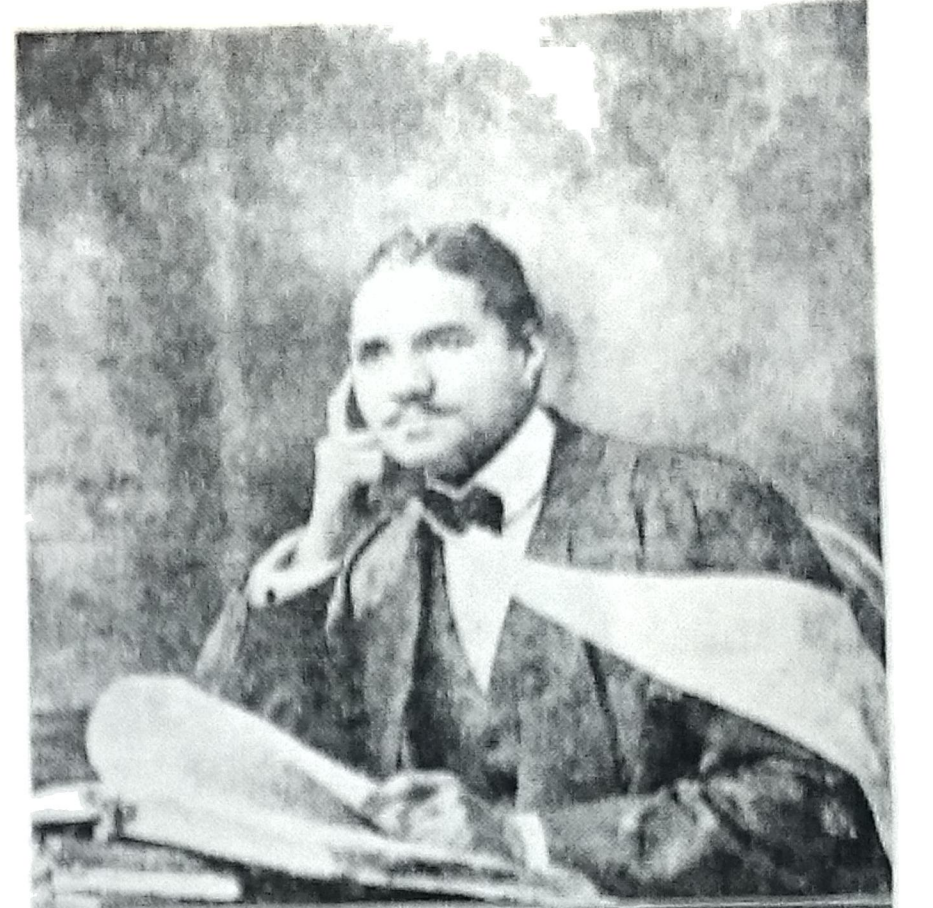
Ananda Coomaraswamy

**MASTER
MIND
AND
MASTER
PUPIL**

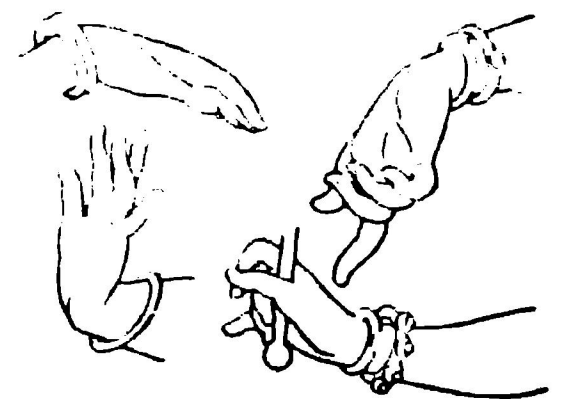
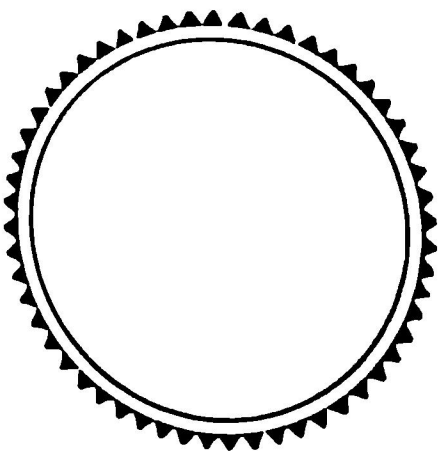
ANANDA
COOMARASWAMY
AS
GUIDE
TO
INTELLECT

by

S. Durai Raja Singam



Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: My thanks are due to Sri G. V. Subba Rao, Sri G. V. Krishna Rao and Sri N. S. Krsnamurti for help in many ways — S.D.R.S.

MASTERMIND AND MASTERPUPIL

THE MIRROR OF GESTURE

BEING THE ABHINAYA DARPAṆA
OF NANDIKESVARA

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

AND

GOPALA KRISHNAYYA DUGGIRALA

WITH INTRODUCTION AND
ILLUSTRATIONS



CAMBRIDGE
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD
Oxford University Press
1917

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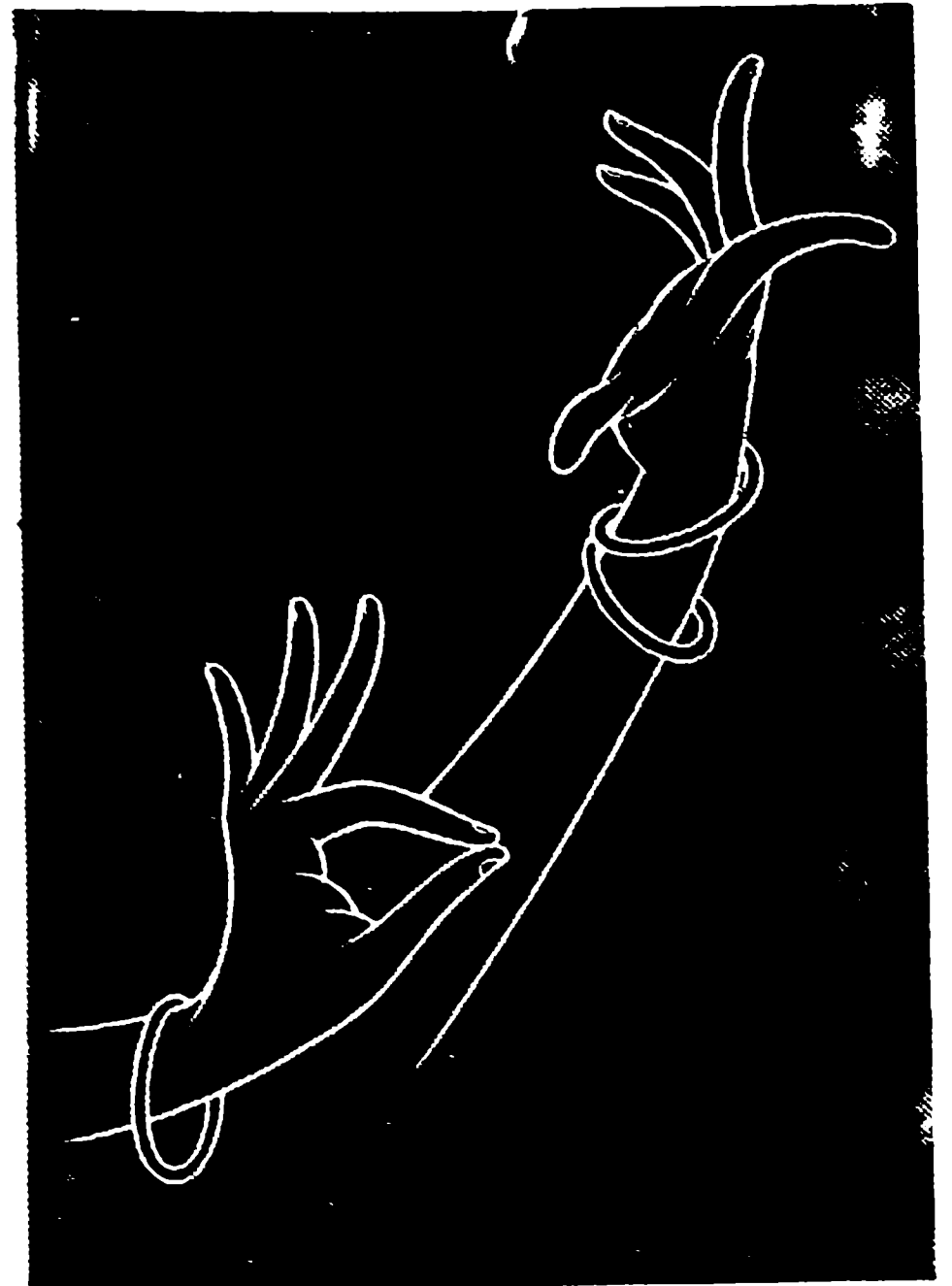
and

DUGGIRALA GOPALAKRISHNAYYA

With Introduction and

Illustrations

E. WEYHE NEW YORK 1936



First edition
1917

Second Revised edition
1936

Third Indian edition
1970

MASTER MIND AND MASTER PUPIL: Coomaraswamy as Guide to Intellect

Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy is the Bharata of our Indian artistic renaissance and whose never-ending inspiration and idealism have revived the dead bones of the classic theories of Indian art — DR. P. K. GODE.

I

Ananda Coomaraswamy, a Master Mind, found in Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya, a master pupil. Duggirala's association with his Master made him a new Indian, and he became a "dvija" — the twice born—under the saintly initiation of Ananda Coomaraswamy. Duggirala always cherished this initiation and following his teacher's footsteps as a benign blessing.

According to Duggirala, Coomaraswamy always presided over the Gostis—a study circle of the elite—as visualized by the master pupil. He was made a true Indian under the care and protection of Ananda Coomaraswamy. The pupil was charged with the new spirit needed for the country.

Andhra Ratna Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya¹ lost his mother on the third day after his birth, and his father in the third year of his life. He was brought up by foster parents, knowing great difficulties of life. He left for England through the assistance of a generous friend. This was a turning point in his life, for there he met Ananda Coomaraswamy. A new spirit possessed him. He became a greater man. His study of Sanskrit and Telegu classics equipped him with the background to rouse audiences and he proved to be a born leader of the masses. He had an abundant sense of humour and developed witticisms suited for any occasion, and his orations were relished by all except the mountebanks against whom he directed his vituperations. When he stood on the platform, he conveyed great amounts of sense to his avid listeners.

¹The life story of this patriot of South India has been told by Sri. G.V. Subba Rao, *Andhra Ratna Gopalakrishnayya* (Visashapatnam: M.S.R. Murty & Co., 1953). There is an earlier book, *The Chirala Perala Tragedy—An Episode of Voluntary Exile* by Sri. G.V. Krishna Rao (Madras: Ganesh & Co., 1922).

Duggirala's views on Nationalism were original, and were the outcome of the great wisdom imparted to him by his Guru. Ananda Coomaraswamy could take pride in rescuing one Indian—Duggirala—from being proselytised by the ruining effects of Western civilisation. Duggirala could look into himself, could probe into the traditions of his motherland, and incorporate into himself the good in everything of modern times, including the ethos of the Occident.

Duggirala's life was always poisoned by privation. He did not survive to see his plans and schemes put into action, which, in modern times, seemed to be a far-off dream. He was energetic and active everywhere, and was not inevitably or irretrievably attached to any one environment. His stature always seemed to grow as the colossal Trivikrama. His innovative ideas, pure and high, bear the silver lining of the great thoughts of Ananda Coomaraswamy. During the days of Gandhiji's Non-cooperation movement in India, he lived, worked, and shone like a man of destiny.

In one of his letters,² Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya mentions that he went to Ananda Coomaraswamy in June 1915 and stayed with him for six months. It was during this period, I feel strongly, that he must have accomplished the collaboration with Ananda Coomaraswamy in writing *The Mirror of Gesture*. Gopalakrishnayya was a good musician and he knew the art of dancing. The main contents of the book are the handiwork of Ananda Coomaraswamy, with Gopalakrishnayya contributing his suggestions in making the book what it is. This is my conclusion, but I do not have proof as to whether I am right or wrong.

In this connection one may note that Duggirala must have witnessed in India, before he met Ananda Coomaraswamy, the Kuchipudi³ dance concerts. These dancers are devotees of the ancient Indian dance traditions. They held and still hold *Abhinaya Darpana* (Mirror of Gesture) of Nandi as their text-book on dance. The gestural attitudes they practised and still practise have their background in this great work on dance. The text of it—available in Telegu script—is the main source which served as a vulgate for the twin authors to undertake its English translation. Duggirala must have pressed forward in the process of translation, his own personal experience. Ananda Coomaraswamy also must have found him a worthy collaborator, for in his introduction to the second edition of the work he acknowledged the assistance rendered by Duggirala.

Thus Gopalakrishnayya stayed in Britain in all for five years—from 1911 to 1916. Whilst studying in the Edinburgh University, Gopalakrishnayya was not particularly diligent or careful. He missed many lectures; was indifferent to his professors; and was ignorant of his text-books with the result that he was unlucky in his examinations. He missed taking a degree twice; but he stayed on for another year. And while doing so, he wrote: "It is not any great love for the degree that is spurring me on thus, but the fact that, if my grandmother learns that, after all, I returned home without any degree, she will have a most unhappy life and its end. That I sincerely wish to spare her." Ultimately he got an A.M. (Hons.) in Economics. He also went through a course of Physiology and Medicine, in which he received a diploma.

His stay in Britain was otherwise far more useful, because it was here he met his Guru, Ananda Coomaraswamy. It was at a meeting of the Edinburgh Indian Association in 1914 that they first met.⁴ At the end of the function, Gopalakrishnayya as its Secretary, had to propose a vote of thanks to the guests, which he seems to have done in a manner which attracted the great Kala-Yogi. They met subsequently by appointment.

²Goshti Library published a book entitled *Andhra Ratna D. Gopalakrishnayya's Letters* (Bezwada, India: Goshti Book House). These letters contain an intimate account of Gopalakrishnayya's contacts with Ananda Coomaraswamy.

³Kuchipudi, a village in Krishna district in Andhra Pradesh, India.

⁴In a letter dated 6.12.1914, Coomaraswamy wrote to Sir Patrick Geddes, from 14 Ramsay Gardens, Edinburgh, the home of Sir Patrick Geddes (who was then in India). He writes: "You will be surprised to see the above address! The fact is the Edinburgh Indian students asked me to come and give a lecture; and Mrs. Geddes has been kind enough to invite me to stay with her. I am very sorry you also are not here."

MASTERMIND AND MASTERPUPIL

Gradually there arose a steady correspondence between the two, and finally Ananda Coomaraswamy drew young Gopala to his hermitage, at Britford near Salisbury.

This drawing together of the Master and the Pupil is the effect of Caksu Raga, attraction by sight. The venerable master could spot out and gain the worthy pupil into his sphere of elitehood.

Gopalakrishnayya stayed with Ananda Coomaraswamy for a little over four months. And this is how he himself described the value of this stay:

I sought to place myself under Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy in whom the idealism of the East and the intense practicalism of the West are harmoniously blended. I came here and am staying in his house. The house is three miles from Salisbury town. It is a country-seat. How beautiful this is! He is a saintly man, and his wife and family (a little boy three years old and a baby girl) are so kind to me. Their house is truly an abode of peace and happiness. He has a huge library and works incessantly. I like everything here, so well, so quiet, so beautiful, and so heavenly. There is a small garden around our house. The climate is very warm. There are no houses within two miles from here. Everything is very nice.

. All day, I am working in his library or in my room, and in the evening, we all sit together, and have some music or discussion. It is all so beautiful. I am supposed to give them 30 sh. a week. Dr. Coomaraswamy works so incessantly so regularly, and is making me follow his ways. Though, I must confess, I am feeling this rather hard, but yet I feel sure, I shall get better shortly. It is all so quiet around. I am enjoying this life most, though when I come to do work, I am feeling a bit hard."

What he missed at the University he gained multi-fold under the guidance of Ananda Coomaraswamy, whose library was the inexhaustible granary of wisdom of all times. As previously noted, Gopalakrishnayya took his A.M. degree to please his aged grandmother, but here under the elite umbrage of Ananda Coomaraswamy, he built his own stature, culturally and spiritually, to become "his own".

At the end of his stay at Britford, he wrote:

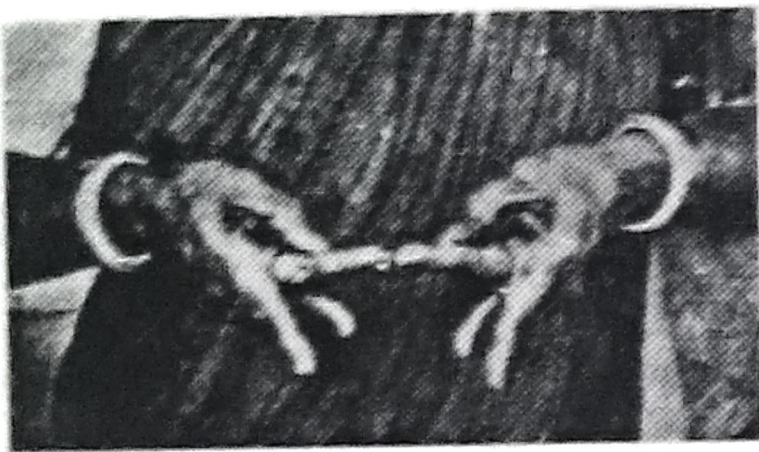
The four months and odd I stayed with Dr. Coomaraswamy is, in a sense, the best part of my life as yet lived. I think, the stay has profoundly altered my view and knowledge of life. Both physically and mentally I am now entirely a new man. Blessed be the happy moment which inspired me to live with him, which has brought about this great change in me."

Ananda Coomaraswamy undoubtedly gave an effective turn to the genius of young Gopalakrishnayya, and supplied him with a good deal of knowledge on Indian art, literature, and philosophy; and soon Gopala became his co-worker and assistant. The teacher and pupil gradually worked together at reviews on Rajput paintings, Ajanta Frescoes, Abhinaya Darpana, and so forth. And in his letter dated 29.10.1915, the Doctor wrote to Gopala: "I very much hope we shall have the opportunity to work together sooner or later for your assistance would be a great advantage to me."

In all the letters to his friends in India, Gopalakrishnayya has nothing but praise for his teacher. He refers to him in one letter, "He is not a moralist. Oh! he is a great man. No wonder he has such a wide European reputation." Other letters include the following passages: "Dr. Coomaraswamy has no doubt to some extent repaired the loss sustained by me in losing you." "My sojourn here does immense good to me in every way. Dr. Coomaraswamy works so incessantly, so regularly and is making me follow his ways." "He is leaving this country for America where the Harvard and other varsities invited him to deliver lectures on Indian art and philosophy. He will be leaving in January."



A. EYEBROWS LIKE THE CRESCENT MOON
(r. h. *simha-mukha*, l. h. *candra-kalā*).



B. A BED



C. THE FISH, *matsya*
(Avatar of Vishnu)



D. THE TORTOISE.
kūrma (Avatar of
Vishnu)



E. GARUDA
(Vehicle of Vishnu)

COMBINED HANDS (TANJORE)

This Mirror of Gesture has been edited by Tiruveṅkaṭācāri of Nidāmaṅgalam, a very learned interpreter of Gesture and the like, according to the Bharata Śāstra, and into this work are likewise introduced many extracts from the Bharata Śāstra, for the pleasure of the cultivated public. Thus ends The Mirror of Gesture, with extracts from other books.

Śrī Sanātana-Rāma arpaṇam astu!

MASTERMIND AND MASTERPUPIL

Gopalakrishnayya himself faithfully kept up his discipleship⁵ even after his return to India and in the only letter he wrote to the Doctor from India, in 1925, he addressed him as his "Esteemed Guruji," and begged for an *airradam* and an occasional contribution to his newly started journal, the *Sadhana*.⁶ The entire letter is well worth quoting in full:

Ramnagar, Chirala-Perala,
January, 1925.

My esteemed Guruji,

Namaste!

I herewith send a sign of life (a reference to copies of *Sadhana* enclosed.) It is ages since I heard of you or you of me. This long interregnum makes now a heart-rending, now a heart-thrilling delightful story.

Vicissitudes almost transcendental and abyssmal as well tried their luck with my soul. All the time, would you care to believe it! I not only never forgot you, but you were ever gracing the front bench in the Goshti of my soul. During the period we were ever in communication—through silence of course, Mouna-Vyakhya-Prakatita-para-Brahma-tatvam. The silence bears the ever-green commentary on Brahman. I ever dig from the response of silence enough light to illumine my path.

I wonder how you all are. My pranams to Sreemati Ratan Devi. How and where is Narada, and Rohini? What are they doing? Hope and pray you are all flourishing.

Sometime back I looked up a magazine from America under the title the *New Orient*. I found a few lines in it from you. I noted you were still in Boston. I felt it is time I should send you a sign of life.

To put my story briefly, ever since I returned from England (it is nine years now) excepting for a brief period of a year during which I was in Government Service as a Professor in a College, I have been in National Service, in some form or other, enjoying all its gifts of poverty and penury. I had also my go to that flat globe—the jail—for a year. I have constructed a tiny little village called Ramnagar near the famous town Chirala (whose

⁵It is interesting to recall that on May 26th 1947 less than three months before Coomaraswamy's death, an Indian student from the Institute for Advanced Study, School of Mathematics Princeton, New Jersey wrote to Coomaraswamy, Dear Dr. Coomaraswamy, Permit me to introduce myself to you as a Member of the Institute, recently arrived from India. I come from Andhradesa in India, more particularly from Bapatla which was the native place of the late Duggirala GopalaKrishna; he was a great friend of my father (Headmaster of a High School) and I have heard of your name ever since I entered college. Some of your letters to Duggirala were, I believe, published by his biographers; and I keenly remember the powerful influence which flowed from them and carried away Duggirala's heart. My father used to tell me time and again how Duggirala used to confess to him, in private as well as in public, the tremendous spiritual debt he owed to you. There is still alive an organisation called 'Goshti' seeking to carry forward the work of Duggirala and spread his gospel; but, as you will see easily, in the prevailing trends of imitative politics there is no hope of Duggirala's message going home. It was with great pleasure that I came to know of your presence in Boston, and I immediately felt that I should contact you by post, and see you as early as possible. I am on a contract with the Institute until next May, and I feel that it will be easy for me to go to Boston one of these days, and have the pleasure of meeting you, should you allow me to do so. With cordial regards, I remain, very sincerely yours, K. Chandrasekharan.

⁶Duggrila Gopalakrishnayya translated a lecture delivered by Ananda Coomaraswamy in London into Telegu and published it in the *Prabodhini*, Vol.V No. 3 and No. 4, 1911 and 1912, a Telegu journal Duggrila Gopalakrishnayya edited in Guntur district. *Prabodhini* was the surname of Gopalakrishnayya. The article is titled HINDU CHITRA KALALU and the following are the sub-headings 1. Upodghata, Introduction. 2. Vastu Sastra, Architecture. 3. Silpa Sastra, Sculpture. 4. Varna Lekhna, Painting. It is available for consultation at the Tamil Nadu Archives, Madras.

exodus and exile of a long twelve month, by the way, constitute one of the most exciting and important episodes in non-co-operation campaign). Leaving the Lord, I am yet the only inhabitant of the village. I live there with my wife and child. By the way, again, I lost two children and I have now a boy just 14 months old. This is all my little family, and some day I hope to gather in a few more wise souls into my Goshti whose Peetam I propose to establish there some day. Sreeman Andhara Vidya Peeta Goshti (something like the Aristotelian Society) has been my ambition. I started this some five years back but as yet there are very few members, five or six, as they must be from the Andhras (Telugus) alone and a weekly journal of 'National Idealism', a phrase peculiarly your own, which I intended to start so long ago, could only make its appearance very recently, a few weeks back, owing to the storms and cyclones of non-co-operation, unnerving us from doing anything. I herewith send you the three issues of it which so far has appeared. You will notice in them some politics which could not be helped until some-time to come, owing to many causes which I do not propose to worry you with. I beg an *asirvadham* from you and a periodic favour.

Can I ever hope to see you in this side of the planet? Earnestly looking forward for a line from you.

Yours most affectionately,
D. Goaplakrishnayya.

It is said that Gopalakrishnayya's first contact with Gandhiji was through Coomaraswamy's introduction of him as "the coming Man of India." And no wonder that the former became his *chela* when Gandhiji started his Non-Cooperation Movement in 1921.

In his Introduction to the second edition of *The Mirror of Gesture* being the Abhinaya Darpana of Nandikeswara, (Translated into English by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya. With Introduction and Illustrations), Coomaraswamy has this to say of his collaborator:

My collaborator, Mr. Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya, is no longer living. I do not know the exact date or circumstances of his death, but cannot refrain from paying a brief tribute of very high respect to his strength and purity of character, and intellectual attainments. He was already what can nowadays be rarely said of young Indian students, an educated Indian before he came to Europe, and was therefore in a position rather to gain than lose by the European experience which has too often a culturally destructive effect on the already Anglicised victim. He took an A.M. degree at the University of Edinburgh, and returned to India, after five years' absence. He realised with a profound shock the unhappy condition of the people of India, and felt that they had been poisoned by false education; he felt that he himself must "purge himself of all the foreign matter" that he had assimilated. Henceforth he regarded every problem with purely Indian eyes. He joined the National Congress, adopted the programme of Non-violence, and devoted himself to social service. In connection with the Chirala-Perala tragedy,⁷ when fifteen thousand inhabitants of the two villages of Chirala and Perala evacuated their homes rather than accept a municipal constitution and unbearable taxation, Gopalakrishnayya was tried twice for sedition in 1921, and imprisoned on both charges for periods of a year and of nine months running concurrently. I cannot tell how much this imprisonment may have been an ultimate cause of his death, but it is certain that his health was greatly impaired, and as he himself said, "I never thought that such a hell existed on earth."

⁷See G.V. Krishna Rao, *The Chirala-Perala Tragedy; an Episode of Voluntary Exile* (Madras: Ganesh and Co., 1922, with three portraits reproduced on page 1).

Chirala, Andhra Pradesh, India, is the largest town in the Guntur District next to Guntur itself. Chirala is not a single town. The old union consists of four villages — Chirala, Perala, Gandrapet and old Chirala. Perala is about a mile from Chirala Proper.

MASTERMIND AND MASTERPUPIL

Gopalakrishnayya was a very gifted speaker in Telugu as well as in English. He was accustomed to make his point by means of pertinent and witty Pauranic analogies easily caught by his audiences, and even by means of an application of Indian aesthetic theories to social and economic problems. Ananda Coomaraswamy quotes the classic speech of the Andhra patriot who was in the dock at a trial for sedition. In the course of one of the trials he said:

Wealth consists of utilities; and utilities are "appropriated." Appropriation is consumption. The commodity, material or immaterial, must cease to exist; that is to say that when we impart value to things we decree their death. a change of name and form. When mankind finds themselves in the economic mood that we are in now, it is the destruction of all things that is ordained. It is laya; the layakarta is Rudra. And the leaders of mankind are now all Rudras (i.e., "destroyers") not of good but of evil. Such is the case with De Valera, Lenin, Gandhi, and Zaghul Pasha.

At another time he said:

I recognise your law in so far as it is in tune with our national *Swadharma* (i.e., innate character and calling). If you think I have offended your law, it is not to defy it in a spirit of scorn or contempt, but to purge itself of its erratic form and evil import, and attune it to that of our own. India exists and shall exist as a racial unit in this universe. Our moral ideal does not consist of our own emancipation. political emancipation alone. but directs itself towards the achievement of the emancipation of all existence from its phenomenal bondage. It is not the common political suffering that is to weld together the Hindu and the Muslim, but the mutual respect regard, and love for each other's Dharma and the necessity of its individuated preservation that can and shall achieve it. Swaraj (i.e., autonomy) therefore, means the preservation of Hindu Dharma, Muslim Dharma, Christian Dharma, Parsi Dharma, Sikh Dharma, in short the *Swadharma* of all, and a co-ordinated federation of all, which are now being threatened with destruction by a godless philosophy, industrial anarchy, and spiritual famine that be-set the world at the present moment. We shall achieve it by Nishkama Karma, action without a longing for the fruit; and then tell me, Sir, where do hatred and contempt come in the performance of such an action?

These matters may seem to be irrelevant to the present work; but in the first place, I feel it no less than my duty to indicate in some way Gopalakrishnayya's mental stature; and in the second place, it must be remembered that the modern division of life into many water-tight independent compartments is a mere affection and aberration of truth. The traditional arts of a people are not an excrescence upon their life, but an integral part of it. As Gopalakrishnayya himself expresses it, "life is a complex phenomenon in which all the apparently autonomous aspects—social, political, economical, moral, and aesthetic—are interlaced and intertwined together in such a manner that action in one aspect will have momentous incidence in all the others."

Ananda Coomaraswamy's picture of Duggirala was that of a patriot and a martyr in the making. Duggirala built his own psyche into the great stature of MAN and he lived to be that, trusting himself to the Divinity realisable in himself.

The following extracts—all taken from the Goshti Library publication *Andhra Rātñā D. Gopalakrishnayya Letters*—contain an intimate account of Gopalakrishnayya's contacts with Ananda Coomaraswamy:

And I sought to obviate this disability by placing myself under Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy in whom the idealism of the East and the intense practicalism of the West are harmoniously blended. It is this consideration and this alone that enabled me to welcome in a sense the misfortune that occurred to me in the refusal of my admission to the examination.

They have inflicted a year's more imprisonment on me. And to make the best of my lot, I offered to be a sishya to Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami (sic) which he was delighted to accept, and on the very day Ramachandra Rao started for India, I came here to Salisbury and am staying in his house.

This house (Manor House, Britford, near Salisbury, home of Coomaraswamy) is 3 miles from Salisbury town. It is a country seat. How beautiful this is! He is a saintly man and his wife (Ratandevi)⁸ and family (a little boy 3 years old, his name is Narada, and a baby girl named Rohini) are so kind to me. Their house is truly the abode of peace and happiness..... for every little thing we have to go to Salisbury, 3 miles from here. Of course the servants in the house bring all things. There are 2 servants. Everything is very nice, but one is wanting, the money. I really don't know when I could get over this nightmare which haunts me every moment of my existence. All day I am working in his library or in my room and in the evening we all sit together, have some music or discussion. It is all so beautiful. I am supposed to give them 30s. a week. That is to say £6 a month. For the first 15 days, I am supposed to be their guest and afterwards this begins. By the end of the 1st month which falls on the 20th July, I must be able to pay the first month's money.

X X X X

I am still getting letters from Cristel as before, now more regularly. They are of the same feeling as was found in the previous ones. I have told Dr. Coomaraswamy of this affair and he was strikingly sympathetic. He says that I should leave it to time to work itself out. He is not a moralist? Oh! he is a great man. No wonder he has such a wide European reputation. He says the case is rendered sadder by the fact that there is such an absolute self-surrender on the part of Cristel—so typically Indian—which he says is genuine and no pretension, as I often suspect. Of course he has seen the correspondence and he very deeply sympathises with me. I have myself as you know left the whole matter to time and await its decision calmly.

X X X X

Hence in Dr. Coomaraswami's (sic) house, my honour is involved. I am now a guest in his house, but afterwards I will be a paying guest. If I can't afford to be, I will quit the house at once. That is why I wish to know so immediately.

X X X X

I think in a sense, why, I may positively say, that my sojourn here does immense good to me in every way. Dr. Coomaraswami (sic) works so incessantly, so regularly and is making me follow his ways. Though I must confess that I am feeling this rather hard, but yet I am sure I will get better shortly. Fancy getting up at 6 o'clock every day and working so regularly and going to bed at 10 o'clock in the night. It is all so quiet around. I must say I am enjoying this life most, though when I come to do work I am feeling it a bit hard.

X X X X

I have to pay Dr. Coomaraswamy (sic) about £21. He kindly told me that I could pay £10, and send the remaining after going home. This is my position.

As you can easily see, I hadn't paid a single penny to Dr. Coomaraswamy the whole 4 months and odd I stayed with him until at the last moment I got this £38 which, I am grateful to acknowledge, has saved my honour and rescued me from a horribly awkward position.

⁸A.K. C's wife Alice, sang under the stage name of Ratan Devi and gave recitals of Indian music. Rohini and Narada are two children by that marriage. Narada is deceased. Rohini Coomaraswamy teaches chello in Mexico.

MASTERMIND AND MASTERPUPIL

The 4 months and odd I stayed with Dr. Coomaraswamy is in a sense the best part of my life as yet lived. I think the stay has profoundly altered my view and knowledge of life. Both physically and mentally I am how entirely a new man (you will be surprised to note this when you see me, I am sure). Blessed be the happy moment which inspired me to live with him which has brought about this great metamorphosis in me.

x x x x

Between Ananda Coomaraswamy and Duggirala, there existed a friendship charged with mutual respect and perfect understanding. Coomaraswamy catered to the mental hunger of the aspiring Duggirala and the latter nourished himself into a practical philosopher, who thought, contemplated, and put into action all the noble ideas inculcated into him. Sublime, reoriented traditions and patriotic ideals pervaded his being and all his efforts in India were directed to the elevation of the masses into a new form of literacy, which included physical, mental, and psychic development.

Sacrifice was always his first step, action was the second, oratorical speechmaking was the third, subordinating the self for noble causes was the fourth, and his final step was complete identity with the course and the cause. He found himself a leader of his companions. He ever had a clear vision of his ideals and modus operandi. He lived as a hero and died as a martyr. He shines in the memories of posterity as the ANDHRA JEWEL (Andhra Ratna).

II

The following letters written by Ananda Coomaraswamy further reveal the close co-operation that existed between him and Dugirrala Gopalakrishnayya.

11.12.1914

(on returning from Edinburgh).

Dear Krishnayya,

Please excuse this torn paper. I shall not be (home?) till tomorrow. But I write to say I left a silk shirt and vest in the Hotel. Could you enquire and have them posted to me?

Very many thanks for your kind welcome. We look forward to seeing you before long. Be sure to come.

Yours very sincerely,
ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

14.12.1914.

The Manor House,
Britford,
Nr. Salisbury.

Dear Gopalakrishnayya,

Thanks for your note. Please do not think any more of the lantern affair! I enclose 3 of my books for the Association Library. I certainly remember my visit to the Association with great pleasure and hope it may be repeated. We expect you to let us know when you will come to visit us.

Yours very sincerely,
ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

x x x x

The Manor House,
2.1.1915.

Dear Gopalakrishnayya,

Did you receive some books I sent for the E.I.A. Library?

I am writing now to tell you 'A World Policy for India' (which I read on the 5th) is published in the 'New Age' for Dec. 24.

Are you not
coming South?

With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,
ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

POST CARD

Britford.

The Oxford Indian Magazine 1/6 is published by the Oxonian Press, 37, Park End St., Oxford. I hope the Edinburgh Indian Association will buy a copy.

A.K.C.

x x x x

The Manor House,
27.2.1915

Dear Gopalakrishnayya,

I have mislaid your letter—but you know we hope to see you here at Easter—let me know in good time.

As to binding, you know Hindus did not use elaborate binding. The Persians used leather and bound it beautifully. Still it would be possible to do some thing Indian in design on leather if desired. Try E. Green, 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C. when you are in London.

Yours sincerely,
A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

x x x x

POST CARD

My dear Gopalakrishnayya,

Please put one of these in the Library of E.I.A. and distribute others to any who would care for them.

Yours sincerely,
A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

x x x x

POST CARD

Manor House.

My dear Gopala,

I have found copies of 'National Education' and enclose one for you. I am also sending you 'Arts and Crafts' a present from the author. I also enclose the 'Ardhaaydo-Comika' (?). Please have a look at this and return to me subsequently. Hope to hear from you soon. Did you hear satisfactorily from home in the registered letter?

Yours affectionately,
ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

2 books bought for you are also enclosed. I have been down in the A/c.

MASTERMIND AND MASTERPUPIL

Manor House.

Many thanks for your letter. We look forward to seeing you at Easter. I would like to recommend to you 'William Morris' by Clutton Brook, in the Home University Series.

A.K. COOMARASWAMY.

x x x x

POST CARD

March, 1915
Manor House,

We look forward to seeing you. Please let me know as soon as possible when you will be here.

A. K. COOMARASWAMY

x x x x

POST CARD

8.4.1915
Manor House.

I hope you have not abandoned the idea of coming down to South.

A. K. COOMARASWAMY

x x x x

The Manor House,
21.4.1915.

Dear Gopalakrishnayya,

I was pleased to have your letter. My wife is just going away for a short time. So if you are able to visit us at the latter part of May, that will suit us very well. Also the weather will be more pleasant.

I am sorry to have made a mistake in your name. I was thinking of the Kings of Hampi!⁹

I have never written any poetry!

When you come here, I can show you a number of books you might find it interesting to look up. I am very busy writing a book on the Buddha and Buddhism just now. By the way, you might like to look up the Burlington Magazine for April (this month). I have an article called 'That Beauty is a State', with Indian illustrations. Also in the 'Quest' for April, on the 'Hindu View of Art'. Both refer to Rasa etc.

This is very pleasant country—2 miles from Salisbury. But it is not so wild and picturesque as Scotland. Shall I hope you will like it? Do bring the *tablas* if you can.

Here are the names of few books — (Perhaps I mentioned them before).

⁹Hampi: A leap across the centuries brings you to Hampi, a fascinating ruined city in the Mysore state. This was once the capital city of the Vijayanagar empire in the 15th and 16th centuries. The Persian envoy to the court of Vijayanagar, Abdul Razzaq, declared: "Eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth". The ruins of Hampi are spread over 14 kilometres and well preserved.

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

Gordon Craig	—	The Art of the Theatre	6/-
Nicholson	—	The Art of Islam	2/6
D.C. Sen	—	History of Bengali Literature	15/-
Thoreau	—	Walden	1/-
Chilton Brook	—	William Morris	1/-
Lethaby	—	Architecture	1/-
Binyon	—	Painting in the Far East	21/-
L. Hearn	—	Japan, an Interpretation	—
Birdwood	—	'Sva' 12/6 (This is quite a good book— Pro-Brahman).	

Looking forward to seeing you later on.

Yours sincerely,
ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

Telegram

14.6.1915

Convenient any time

COOMARASWAMY.

x x x x

The Manor House
14.6.15

My dear Sishya,

I have answered your telegram—"Convenient any time." But as the telegram says "Arriving there Wednesday, May first," I am not clear what is the date you really mean. In any case, drop me a line if possible, so that I can wait for you at the station.

Yours very sincerely,
A. K. COOMARASWAMY

P.S. I expect to be in London for 3 or 4 days from the 23rd. So if you mean Thursday July 1, that would do very well.

x x x

Oxford
28.7.15

Permission obtained. Meet Thakirijis ten thirty tonight.

COOMARASWAMY.

x x x x

The Manor House
14.10.15.

My dear Gopala,

I was much pleased to have your letter. I have no time to write for a few days, which you will quite understand. But I send you the letter to Professor Tonay as you will be wanting to make use of it.

MASTERMIND AND MASTERPUPIL

Ratan Devi is giving a recital in London Nov. 26 I hope you will be able to come, and that we may see you here for a short time at any rate before that. I will write at greater length as soon as I can make the time. Meanwhile I remain with affection,
Your friend.

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

x x x x

The Manor House
29.10.15.

My dear Gopala,

I hope you received the registered letter safely, and also one or two others which I have sent on. I read your letter with much interest and sympathy, but even now I cannot find time for a long answer, and I know you will well understand how busy I am. I am sending you some prospectuses of Deviji's recital on Nov. 26, please circulate. We shall be in London from the 23rd. I hope you will be able to come South. We are still trying to get some domestic assistance, and if we succeed, I want you to come here for a few days before the 23rd for Devi to work— otherwise she would not have the time. So I shall write to you again on this, but in any case hope to see you in London. On the 28th she will give a recital to the London students at Oxford and if you have not been there, you might like to go down at the same time. We shall be staying with Basant Kumar Mallik there.

I have today completed a review of Frazer, *Indian Thought, Past and Present*.

I have got far on with Buddhism, but not finished. We have decided to go to U.S.A. in January and are very busy preparing.

I very much hope we shall have the opportunity to work together again sooner or later, for your assistance would be a great advantage to me. Perhaps I shall some day be able to afford it, but at present could not think of it.

Yours affectionately,
ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

x x x x

The Manor Farm
Wednesday.

My dear Sishya,

I am glad to hear from you. I expected that you had met some friends. I hope these letters will reach you in time: no others have come. I am glad you don't like London. There is a new book here to be read. So when you come back, you must really work.

Yours affectionately,
ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

x x x x

The Manor House
4.11.15.

My dear Gopala,

Hope you received the small parcel of books safely. We are now expecting assistance

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

in the house work. So should be delighted to see you here the week-end previous to the 23rd, if you are coming South.

It is a pity the Ajanta book has of course gone to the Indian address you gave me. If we had known you were staying on, it wouldn't have been necessary.' But I daresay it is more convenient for you even so.

Yours affectionately,
ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

x x x x

The Manor House.
6.11.15

My dear Gopala,

We are very sorry to hear from Thakore and Kaul of your illness. But glad you are on the way to recovery. I hope you got all my letters, including one registered forwarded. Better not write till you are quite free of infection on account of the children here, but send any message through Kaul.

I have enclosed note from your uncle, I suppose. It seems fairly satisfactory.

Yours affectionately,
ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

x x x x

The Manor House.
12.12.15

My dear Gopala,

Herewith a letter for you and a pamphlet. We hope to hear good news of you soon, write as soon as you are pronounced out of quarantine. You may have heard the recital in London was a success and we are going in January.

Yours affectionately,
ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

x x x x

The Manor House.
21.12.15.

My dear Gopala,

I need not say that we are all extremely glad to hear of your recovery. You must have had a miserable time. I have several times received news of you from Thakore and Kaul. I am sorry your affairs are still unsettled but think you are right to take your degree. If you are able to settle with me before we go to U.S.A., so much the better. But if not do not worry about it. I should like to have the bags as soon as possible however, for convenience in packing. By the way, do you care to have some volumes of the Ann: Report 'Smithsonian Institution' and of the British Association, if sent to you carriage forward? They will otherwise be thrown away. I am trying to find a publisher for the 'Abhinaya Darpana', for which I have written an introduction. I have just been asked to write an article for a Book of (International) Homage to Shakespeare on the occasion of the Shakespeare Tercentenary.

MASTERMIND AND MASTERPUPIL

You will find a review perhaps to interest you in the 'Athenaeum' for Dec. 4.
No time for more at present.

Yours affectionately,
ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

x x x x

The Manor House.

My dear Gopala,

I fear it will not be possible for me to get you any other photos than these 2 in time for your use. I am very busy.

Yours affectionately,
ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

x x x x

The Manor House.
4.1.16

Dear Gopala,

Am sending a few more things of yours found here. And sent you 'Concepts of Monism' yesterday. Hope you are well, as I do not hear from you.

We are leaving for U.S.A. by *New Amsterdam* on Feb. 7. Address in London (permanent):

c/o Messrs. W. Wesley & Sons.,
28, Essex Street,
Strand, W.C.

Am very busy packing.

Yours affectionately,
ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

x x x x

Telegram

Hawkhurst
25.1.16

Anytime Saturday Fifth London

Coomaraswamy

Telegram

Regent Street.
28.1.16

Your letter just received very difficult Thursday
only possible day wire if wish arrange then

Coomaraswamy

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

The Manor House
3.2.16

My dear Gopala,

I have been expecting to hear from you again. If the bags are not already sent off, it will be no use as we are leaving here on the 7th.

I am sending your dressing gown, but not hearing from you about the books I am not sending them.

Yours affectionately,
ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

x x x x

Talmouth. (sic)
11.2.16

Our boat has been repeatedly delayed, but we are hoping to sail tomorrow. Many thanks for all your kindness. Greetings from both to you—Remember us also to Kaul, Thakore and others.

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

x x x x

c/o Messrs. T. Cook & Sons,
245 Broadway,
New York City.
10.7.16

My dea Gopala,

I hope to hear from you ere this. How have you been getting on? With any luck, you should be just through all your exams. Mrs. Coomaraswamy returned to England last week to take care of the children for the present. I had been on the point of going to India to take up some Museum work that was offered to me there but at the very last moment I received a cable that the building was temporarily required for other purposes and the scheme would be postponed till after the war. I shall stay with friends here for the present and do some writing—perhaps try my hand at a novel. By the way you will find an article of mine in the July 'Scribner', which I suppose is to be had in Edinburgh.

Please give my greetings to all friends in Edinburgh, and believe me to remain your friend and Guru, as long as you so wish it.

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY.

The Oxford Press gave very little hope of printing the "Mirror of Gesture" until after the war. I have the Ms. with me here and have some hope of getting it published here somewhat earlier.

MASTERMIND AND MASTERPUPIL

A TRIBUTE

Coomaraswamy had collaborators in some of his works and Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya was one of the earliest and to both of them belong the supreme credit for this work. A rich tribute is paid to Coomaraswamy by G.S. Ghurye, the author of *Bharata Natya and its Costume* (Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1958). "We owe it to Coomaraswamy that the actual representation of dance in the ancient sculptures of Northern India was brought before the students of dance through his book *The Mirror of Gesture* and later through his contribution on *Dance* in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edition. The scene in the caves of Orissa, generally ascribed to the 2nd century B.C., where a female is reproduced in a dancing pose, is reproduced in the above mentioned contribution and is interpreted by Coomaraswamy as a scene in a *natyasala*, or dance-hall. If his interpretation is correct, then it is the earliest representation of human beings dancing in our country. Almost equally ancient is the dancing scene in Bharhut sculptures, reproduced in Coomaraswamy's contribution (p. 29).

I believe Coomaraswamy was the first to draw attention to the Rigvedic references to dance and to a female dancer — *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edition, Rigveda, I, 92, 4 (p 2).

The next reference to dance, Coomaraswamy ascribes to the late period of the 3rd or 4th century A.D., a time not far removed from the Rigvedic age, is by Kalidasa (p 2-3).

References to dancing in Sanskrit literature, the earliest of which, namely, those by the Buddhist poet Asvaghosa and by Kalidasa in his *Malavikagnimitra*, were brought to the notice of the interested public by Coomaraswamy (p. 14).

Coomaraswamy in this same article has already reproduced two sculpture scenes from the Stupa at Amarvati in the Andhra Desh which represent solo-dance-performances by women. One of them shows a female dancing on a lotus (p 33). The second dance is a dance by a female executed in front of a royal couple (p. 34). The magnificent Dilwara temple of Mt. Abu is ascribed to the 12th century which Coomaraswamy reproduced in pt IV in his *Mirror of Gesture* (p. 40). The sculpture of Siva dancing the *tandava* in the Dasavatara cave of Verula (Ellora) would appear to belong to the 8th century A.D. It is an eight handed image and is shown as dancing on a lotus (p. 50). (Page references are from Ghurye's book).

Two Reviews

As one example of how the book was received by Press, the following two reviews are included. *The Mirror of Gesture* had very favourable reviews both in India and the West. Two are quoted below, one entitled *The Play of Brahma* by Dr. James H. Cousins in the *Commonwealth*, Madras, June 8th 1917, p. 450 and the other from *Indian Art and Letters* Vol. XI, No. 1, p. 48. (the first being of the first edition and the other of the second revised edition). **THE PLAY OF BRAHMA.** The large sanity and wise imaginativeness of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy's writings form one of the most valuable contributions to the intellectual and artistic renaissance in India. When he sets out the excellences of some phase of Indian art, he does so with a clear recognition of the existence and value of standards other than Indian; and where the creative spirit within him urges him to a practical application of eastern principles in western practice, or vice versa, it is always with wisdom's proviso of *mutatis mutandis*. Hence it is that, in introducing to the British public a translation of the *Abhinaya Darpana*—the mirror, of action, or gesture—and in dedicating it to all actors and actresses, he does so, not because he supposes that the actor might find it "profitable for him to adopt the actual gesture-language of the East," but in the hope "that it may inspire him with the enthusiasm and the patience needful for the recreation of the drama in his own environment." To the ordinary Westerner a plentiful supply of patience is certainly necessary if he is to master the twenty-four heads (i.e. head-gestures), forty-four glances, six brows, four necks, twenty-eight single hands, twenty-seven combined hands, and the numerous variants of these that go to form the classical gesture-language of Indian dramatic art. The first point of resentment will be the apparent smothering of individuality under a system of dramatic scholasticism. How can individual genius express itself if the actor has to keep remembering that he has to put his thumb against the base of his first finger and extend all his fingers close together when he wishes to represent forbidden things, a good king, the sea, and a palmyra leaf? The fact is, of course, that the eastern system of gesture-language is no more complicated or extensive than the western, and is acquired mimetically as easily by the young stage-struck Indian as western technique is by the admirers of Lena Ashwell or Beerbohm Tree. Such deviation as the eastern system makes from the realistic gestures of the modern European stage is less deviation than extension of natural gesture, due to the fact that drama is an art, not a reproduction, and that Indian acting, as Dr. Coomaraswamy says, "is a poetic art, an *interpretation* of life while modern European acting is prose, or *imitation*." The nearest approach indeed, to eastern drama on the western stage is of opera, or music-drama. In this, the slowness of utterance makes natural gesture almost impossible, and as symbolical gesture is unknown, the spectator is often bored by the limited and meaningless waving of arms that operatic singers indulge in. Here the *Mirror of Gesture* should have a suggestive usefulness, and give a greater scope to the rhythmic art of Isadora Duncan, Maud Allan, Anna Pavlova and other descriptive dancers. Their thematic dancing is, by the way, regarded as a new art, though in the *Mirror of Gesture* its history is traced back not only to Nandikeswara from whom the work is translated, but to Arjuna, Hanuman, Brahma, and Shiva. It is

said, indeed, that drama is a fifth Veda, compiled by Brahma in one of his incarnations, and that the gesture element was drawn by him from the third Veda, thus yielding an art to "serve as a timely resting-place for those who are grieved, weary, unhappy, or engaged in an arduous discipline setting forth all the events of the world about to be, containing the significance of every scripture, and forwarding every art."

This august genealogy of Indian dramatic art may not impress the "gods" of West End London theatres; but it is artistically certain that any infusion of symbolism by gesture is bound to reduce the pull of the gravity of Earth on western drama, and take it increasingly sensitive to the levitating power that is in every movement—and word and thought—that stands for significances greater than expression.

This is probably the most immediate practical use of the present translation; but, as in everything else that he puts his hand to, Dr. Coomaraswamy, either in his own or quoted words, invests the subject with largeness, and opens windows towards the inwardness of the arts of India. "The arts," he says, "are not for our instruction, but for our delight. the Godlike ecstasy of liberation from the restless activity of the mind and the senses. the secret of all art is self-forgetfulness." Here we have no hedonist chaining of the drama to the wheel of mere amusement—though our translator would almost seem to have fallen into the European convention of regarding instruction and delight as quarrelsome neighbours: the phrase is an enunciation of the joy that drama can give when it lives up to its source as the fifth Veda, that is to say, when it is *prophetic* and esoteric. Bad art is never *prophetic*: it cannot, as Brahma specified, set forth anything concerning any "world to be"! it ends with the passing moment. A sentimental melodrama drops its curtain on a happy ending, and the spectator is left free to be a prey to acquiescence with things as they are or to enervating emotion? Shaw, who stands for good art as a prophet and revealer of meanings, sends you home in the healthy shape of a note of interrogation, or with the spirit of David in revolt against the Goliath of circumstance and hunting for stones. Bad art is never *estoeric*: it cannot contain the significance of any scripture holy or unholy: it is all *there*, which means that it is nowhere else, Good art is never all there: it is "full of whispers and of shadows"; it echoes and ricochets through the convolutions of the brain, drawing waves (vrittis in the chita) like a swift vessel; raising ghosts of buried thoughts, stirring germs of thoughts-to be.

It is interesting to note that Dr. Coomaraswamy entertains the possibility of the next revival of drama being in the West. Curiously enough, the eyes of the West have been turning eastwards on the same quest: it can quite easily be simultaneous if the dramatists but turn towards the new morning that the world is rotating to, and see "life" as a transparent code to spiritual meanings. When vision and outlook lift their lids the "Play of Brahma" begins.

X X X X

Dr. Coomaraswamy's translation of the above mentioned work on Indian dancing and acting has become a classic, and one need not be surprised that it was sold out many years ago, to the disappointment of many who wished to study that side of Indian art. The translator deserves gratitude for having issued a second edition which does not vary very considerably from the previous one, but some changes were rendered necessary on account of the publication of a Sanskrit text, issued only a few years ago. Dr. Coomaraswamy's translation is based on a Telegu edition. There are twenty-five plates picturing dancing, and specially hand poses, the study of which is necessary, as every movement has its meaning. This beautifully produced volume includes a valuable complete bibliography.

X X X X

The third edition appearing after more than half a century has been ably edited by Mrs. Coomaraswamy and incorporates new material earmarked for the book by Coomaraswamy himself.

